RRR

ROTHBARD-ROCKWELL REPORT

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Why *The Report?*

1989 was the exciting, wondrous year when the century of socialism/communism shifted, with dazzling speed, toward a 21st century of freedom. But at this glorious moment when libertarian ideas have exerted their greatest influence in a hundred years, what has been happening to libertarian activism and organizations? Have they expanded proportionately, ready to take advantage of this great breakthrough?

Hell no! Libertarian institutions have been imploding, collapsing, disappearing. The Libertarian Party is in parlous shape; and there are few periodicals available for libertarians to analyze these world events or to consider what to do next. In 1989 alone, while communism was disintegrating, three libertarian magazines disappeared.

A grievous loss was Mike Holmes's monthly *American Libertarian*, which provided indispensable news of the movement, as well as fearless commentary and discussions of strategy. And while the death of *Individual Liberty* was not nearly as calamitous, it did provide an outlet for independent news and commentary. Among the survivors, *LP News* is swill, and boring swill at that, and *Liberty* has become a bimonthly homeless shelter for nihilo-libertarian nobodies.

Communism has crumpled and libertarian ideas are spreading, yet the movement is in dire straits, floundering, played out, getting nowhere. Why? What's wrong with the movement? What's wrong with the Party? We have plenty of ideas on these subjects, but we have found that there is no place to publish them. We found that other libertarian publications are too timid, too disapproving, too worried about hostility from powerful sectors of the movement, to publish them. And so we have decided to fill the gap ourselves, and to launch our own publication.

Communism has crumpled and libertarian ideas are spreading, yet the movement is in dire straits, floundering, played out, getting nowhere.

Anyone who knows the writings of the two of us knows that we have plenty of things to say, on a wide variety of topics of great interest to libertarians, and furthermore that we pull no punches. We want to tell the truth, at long last.

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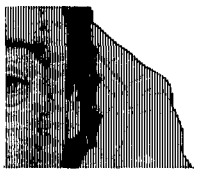

THE EAR

The Donald-Ivana Trump split has been a boon to all my sisters in the gossip business, but there's an interesting libertarian angle to this story.

Last New Year's Eve, Donald brought his mistress, Marla Maples, to a party at libertarian billionaire David Koch's Aspen, Colorado, mansion. All went well until Ivana telephoned and demanded to know if her husband was there with his girlfriend. "David got nervous and broke into one of his donkey laughs," reported *The New York Post*, "but Ivana thought he was laughing at her. That was the straw that broke the camel's back. People were laughing at her."

Did David Koch cause the Trump divorce? Well, not quite, but now no one can say that David—exiled by brother Charles to a life of idle richness—never accomplished anything.

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Marla Bottemiller, appointed with much fanfare as the new National Field Coordinator of the Libertarian Party, is not exactly beginning by Making Friends and Influencing People—one of her main tasks. On a tour of the Southern states, Marla

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(THE EAR *cont. from P.1)*
came to Jackson, Mississippi. Expecting for some reason to be put up at the home of the local Libertarian Party honcho, she was told that said honcho's home was not available.

At this point, Marla called Jack Criss, a local radio talk show host who has been sympathetic to libertarianism. Although she has never met Jack, she asked him to put her up for the night. On being refused, she kept calling, phoning the poor guy no less than seven times. Although formerly sympathetic to the LP, Jack now tells me he no longer feels the same way.

Marla, sit down here right next to me, and let me talk to you, woman to woman. Are there no motels? Doesn't the LP give you an expense account? Outside the LP, people do not go for the standard libertarian attitude of *"Su casa es mi casa."* In the real world, sweetie, they'll call you a moocher, a deadbeat, and an annoying pest. And it's a dangerous world out there; you may end up finding Mr. Goodbar.

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The two real-world potential LP presidential candidates have taken a look at the party's declining fortunes and bailed out.

When asked recently if he were running, Ron Paul told *The Houston Post*: "I hope I have enough sense not to do that again." Walter Williams, who had said he might be interested *if* all fundraising and ballot-access were taken care of (a laughable proviso, given the LP), was given a two-hour, dutch-uncle talk by Edward H. Crane III of the Cato Institute, one of the anti-LP pioneers. Walter is now telling friends there is "no way" he will run.

The two real-world potential LP presidential candidates have taken a look at the party's declining fortunes and bailed out.

That leaves Andre Marrou—ex-VP candidate, ex-engineer, ex-realtor, and ex-life insurance salesman—as the one and only. Marrou may have failed in the real world, but his VP campaign account ended with a $46,000 surplus. And the 51-92 ballot access PAC he formed with Michael Emerling—bankrupt and loan defaulter—has raised almost $100,000 (while spending little on ballot access).

Recently, Andre has been verbally abusing his wife in public. Eileen is a great gal who deserves better, but the situation showcases Andre. LPers will now have to figure out not only whether Andre's IQ is 51 or 92, but whether he or Michael is the greater cad.

Note: the LP's own ballot access committee shut down after chairman Steve Givot sent the most ill-advised fundraising letter in the history of the movement. (Steve: It's not smart to tell donors their money has been all pissed away, but you promise to be continent in the future.)

The Ear's fearless prediction: the 1992 campaign will make the 1984 Bergland debacle look good.

-S.B.

(REPORT, cont. from P.1)

N.B.: The two of us are hard-core libertarians, but we have also long been "paleos"—men devoted to bourgeois values and culture, and staunch opponents of the nihilist "counter-culture."

Too long has libertarianism been scorned because it has been connected, in the lifestyle and culture of most movement activists, with an adolescent hippie-druggie culture that scorns people of competence who earn a regular paycheck (much less who have met a payroll), or have any visible means of support. So we will be publishing, from time to time, the social conservatism of "The Old Curmudgeon" and the cultural conservatism of "Mr. First Nighter," two M.N.R. bylines from the old *Libertarian Forum* much reviled by the mass of nihilo-libertarians.

We are also privileged to have a gossip columnist, Sarah Barton, who knows where the bodies are buried and wants to tell what she knows. All those seething with discontent at injustice or iniquity in the movement are invited to send their items to Miss Barton.

Most of the *RRR* will be written by the two of us and Miss Barton, though from time to time others will be invited to contribute. But we are not open to all comers. While the clash of ideas has value in the broad culture, we are frankly not interested in devoting our limited resources to publishing and promoting error. There is enough of that in the libertarian movement.

Remember that your subscription is for 12 issues rather than one year. You may—depending on events—get those 12 issues in 11 months or 14. We hope that you like our newsletter, but even if you don't, you can't afford not to

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read us. Already, this publication is the talk of the movement. It will continue to be.

-M.N.R.,L.H.R., Jr.

Farewell Speeches to the Alabama LP

The Alabama Libertarian Party held a large-scale convention in Birmingham on February 10, featuring a luncheon address by Lew Rockwell on "What's Wrong with the Libertarian Party," and a talk soon after by myself on "The Libertarian Movement in the '90s," capped by an evening banquet talk by Bob Poole on "Privatizing Airports." Approximately one hundred people attended—a record for the Alabama LP—obviously attracted by the program. The gathering also included many leaders of the neighboring Georgia party. Indeed, the Alabama party also used the occasion to hold a meeting of southeastern state chairs.

Lew Rockwell was invited because of his striking article on "The Case for Paleolibertarianism," *Liberty* (January), by far the most controversial article that *Liberty* has ever published. Also, Rockwell's announced resignation from the LP had been mentioned (albeit in incredibly garbled form) in the December *LP News*.

My own similar stance, I thought, had been made clear, if not by my seconding talk for Matt Monroe at the national convention at Philadelphia, then at least by my fiery denunciation of the LP in "The Revenge of the *Luftmenschen*: Debacle at Philadelphia," in what unfortunately turned out to be the final issue of *American Libertarian* (September). Furthermore, the Alabama LP leadership made clear their solid agreement with Rockwell's article, their disaffection having been registered long ago in refusing to join any LP region, thereby avoiding representation on the National Committee.

Worried about what we were going to say, Ron Crickenberger, newly elected NatCom representative from the South (Region 4), requested that he be allowed to make a brief comment after our talks. All in all, this was big stuff, far more significant than a run-of-the mill state convention.

Although allegedly sympathetic to the Rockwell-Rothbard message, the assembled Alabama and Georgia party stalwarts apparently got a lot more than they had bargained for. For Rockwell decided to get down to cases, to cut beneath the paleo- nihilo generalities, and to tell the assemblage, in concrete detail, what precisely was wrong with the national Libertarian Party.

Even though he went out of his way to exempt the assembled Alabama and Georgia party people from his strictures, the gathering reacted in shock and horror anyway. For Rockwell had named names, pricking the inflated balloons of the dearly beloved leaders who infest the Libertarian Party like the leeches and barnacles that they are. In the question period, Lew was accused at one and the same time of being "too general," and also "too specific", i.e., "name-calling." One woman, in tears, accused Lew of destroying her life and her values.

In my own talk, I exhorted the assemblage not to react to Lew by "shooting the messenger"—a time-honored practice of rulers to whom the messenger brings bad news. Not only did the gathering not heed my advice, but I am afraid that very few, if any, of them understood the allusion. When asked by one of the audience why Lew had to disclose his hard-hitting message in this particular forum, I replied that there is virtually nowhere else to make these disclosures: certainly not in *LP News* or *Liberty*, and alas no longer in *American Libertarian*. (Now, of course, there is the *RRR*.)

We are dealing here, not only in the Libertarian Party as a whole, but, sad to relate, even in the dissident state parties, not with a group of rational people but with virtually a religious cult. It was particularly disheartening to those of us associated with *American Libertarian* that the only people who seemed to be affected by our detailed revelation of chicanery in the LP were the guilty parties themselves, who squeaked to the high heavens, and tried their best to have our critical articles suppressed.

The other folks, the ones being fleeced, the ones that we were trying to reach with our message, either expressed no interest whatever, or denounced us as "negative," "divisive," etc. The woman who accused Lew of destroying her life and values was only an extreme version of the general reaction: why is Rockwell imposing such a "downer" on us when we came here to be inspired?

The downer, unfortunately, is the messenger conveying the truth. Indeed, the reaction of LPers to the news and messages deliv-

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ered time and again by Rockwell, Mike Holmes, Alan Lindsay, myself, and others is very much like the responses of the deluded cult-followers of Jim and Tammy Bakker, or of Jimmy Swaggart. Not quite as hopped up, perhaps, but all in all disturbingly much the same.

Those members who don't mind being fleeced, those who join the Libertarian Party for some kind of psychic therapy, those who embrace the Party as a cult of losers, those who constitute what an old friend of mine once called "the nation's biggest outpatient clinic," this overwhelming majority of members are welcome to the LP. They can have it. As for Lew Rockwell and myself, we're cutting out.

The "nation's biggest outpatient clinic" is welcome to the LP. We're cutting out.

My own talk, by the way, and oddly enough, was received with warmth and enthusiasm. Even though I tried to make clear my agreement with Lew, I suppose it was the old story of the bad cop-good cop. After Lew's figurative thwacking of the assembled gathering with a two-by-four, anything else would have been received as a port in the storm.

I set the current scene in historical perspective, and pointed out the urgent need for profound rethinking of strategies, stances and tactics, by conservatives and libertarians. With the Cold War over, there is great opportunity for alliances with the paleo-conservatives. First, on a non-interventionist foreign policy on which both groups agree; and second, on "social issues" on which Leftists have already assumed the high moral ground, and which will be the key interventionist issues of the 90s: environmentalism and holding animals, insects, plants, rocks, and blue water higher than man; egalitarianism and special privileges forever for Accredited Victims; and paternalistic efforts to outlaw everything not certifiably good for you: drugs, alcohol, smoking, and what have you.

In the question period, I was asked by an Alabama LP stalwart whether I was opposed to an effort by them and others (there were certainly glimmerings of such an attitude in the Georgia Party) to organize and take back the national LP from its misleaders. I replied that I was all for it and wished such efforts well, but that I personally had been fighting these people in the LP for seventeen years, and that I had had it. Up to here. In the German phrase, *ohne mich* (without me, fellas).

A fitting coda to the afternoon came in the reply by Ron Crickenberger. Supposed to talk for a minute or two, he rambled on for about twenty minutes, and his persona and his talk constituted an unwitting vindication of the Rockwell thesis.

First, young Crickenberger appeared, much to the displeasure of the organizers, in jeans, and other raffish garb, topped by a gold chain around his neck featuring a gold dollar sign. In addition to the expected pap about how the LP is in great shape and getting better, he noted that NatCom meetings have been harmonious since our dissident faction had left the scene (then inconsistently called upon us to stop being "sore losers" and rejoin the fold).

In his euphoria, Crickenberger, new to the NatCom scene, should have waited a few months to make such a pronouncement. Wait, for example, till the honeymoon of the new regime is over, and the money starts running out. Crickenberger did admit that Lew seemed to be right on one point: he is worried about the lack of activity on the vital ballot access front. Hah! To echo President Ronnie: He ain't seen nothin' yet!

But the startling point—the dramatic vindication of the Rockwellian analysis—came at the beginning of Crickenberger's talk, when he averred, very much in the spirit of a Salvation Army or Pentecostal meeting, that "libertarianism (had) saved my life." It appears that Crickenberger "is" a kleptomaniac, that he used to be a junkie and a cat burglar, and the assembled Alabama bourgeoisie gaped in astonishment as Crickenberger detailed how he used to con people into setting themselves up for stealing their TVs and to her valuables.

Then, announced Crickenberger, he read *Atlas Shrugged*, discovered the non-aggression

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axiom, and came to realize, as a result, that he was hurting others as well as himself by being a junkie-thief. Hence, his rise to his present eminence. Crickenberger may have the distinction of being the only person ever converted *to* altruism by *Atlas Shrugged*! How come he didn't realize before that this theft was hurting his victims? Who knows? Crickenberger himself doesn't seem to know, claiming that if he understood the precise process by which libertarianism converted him out of his life of crime he could package it and "end the crime problem" in the world. All we needed were cries of "Amen, brother" and other pentecostal demonstration, but fortunately the Alabama Party was not ready for that.

After contemplating this performance by one of our distinguished NatCom members and defenders of the LP faith, is it any wonder that the middle class, the working class, or, indeed any sane people are repelled by the Libertarian Party? Is it any wonder that sensible members are heading for the exit?

-M.N.R.

The Post-Cold War World

I. Whither U.S. Foreign Policy

With the collapse of Communist rule in Eastern Europe, and of Soviet domination of its former satellites, whatever Russian threat that may have existed is now over. The Brezhnev Doctrine, under which Russia used force to prop up Communist rule in the "socialist bloc," has been replaced by the charmingly named "Sinatra Doctrine," where every country can go its own way. The Cold War is therefore finished, and every intelligent person, wherever he stands in the political spectrum, acknowledges this fact.

The argument for imperialism has always been two-edged: "a complex of fear and vaunting."

But if the Cold War died in the Communist collapse of 1989, what can the ruling conservative-liberal Establishment come up with to justify the policy of massive intervention by the U.S. everywhere on the globe? In short, what cloak can the Establishment now find to mask and vindicate the continuance of U.S. imperialism? With their perks and their power at stake, the Court apologists for imperialism have been quick to offer excuses and alternatives, even if they don't always hang together. Perhaps the feeling is that one of them may stick.

The argument for imperialism has always been two-edged, what the great Old Rightist Garet Garrett called (in his classic *The People's Pottage)* "a complex of fear and vaunting." Fear means alleged threats to American interests and the American people. To replace the Soviet-international Communist threat, three candidates have been offered by various Establishment pundits.

One is "international narco-terrorism." As long as the drug hysteria holds up, this menace is useful in justifying any and all invasions of Third World countries, since there are usually drugs grown and traded somewhere in each of these nations. The phrase is useful, too, since it combines fear of dark, bearded Terrorists (remember the non-existent "Libyan hit men" of a decade ago, allegedly in the U.S. to get Reagan?), with the drug menace. It is doubtful, however, that narco-terrorism can justify all those super-expensive missiles and nuclear weaponry, since one hopes, at least, that the U.S. government is not contemplating H-bombing Colombia or Peru out of existence.

Second, a threat that loomed no more than one day after the wonderful demise of the Berlin Wall, is the pending reunification of East and West Germany. Since there is no ethnic or national "East Germany," the disappearance of a Communist East Germany would mean there is little reason for the two parts of Germany not to become one nation. And so, Establishment pundits trotted out the old slogans, as if the last half-century of German history had never existed.

Hitler! was brandished once more, with scarce any realization that Hitler only ruled Germany for twelve years, whereas a full forty-five years have passed since his demise. But not only Hitler. For article after article raised the spectre of Germany's having assaulted the rest of Europe twice in one

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century—thereby resurrecting the old nonsense that Germany was the sole guilty party in World War I.

It's as if all knowledge of the causes of WWI in this century have been wiped away and we were back to repeating the vicious, lying propaganda of the Entente nations (Britain, France, Russia). In fact, the German government was probably the least guilty of the warring governments in that monstrous catastrophe—a disaster that set the stage for the emergence of Bolshevism and Nazism and led directly to World War II.

Most bizarre of all, some articles have actually blamed Germany for the Franco-Prussian War of 1871—one which observers at the time as well as later historians generally pinned on the expansionist ambitions of the French imperial tyrant, Napoleon III.

A third threat has been raised in the *Wall Street Journal* by that old fox, the godfather of the neocons, Irving Kristol. Kristol, in a rambling account of the post-Cold War world, leaps on the "Islamic fundamentalist" threat, and even suggests that the U.S. and the Soviet Union should discreetly cooperate in putting down this looming world peril. Here we see a hint of a new conservative-liberal concept: a benign rule of the world by the United States, joined by the Soviet Union as a sort of condominium-junior partner, along with Western Europe and Japan. In short, an expanded Trilateral concept. Of course, pinpointing Islamic fundamentalism comes as no surprise from the neo-cons, to whom defense of the State of Israel is always the overriding goal.

But in addition to the negative there is the positive, the vaunting along with the fear. The positive carrot is the old Wilsonian dream of the U.S. as global imposer of "democracy." Since very few countries can pass the "democracy" test, or have ever done so, this poses an objective that suits the Establishment interventionists fine: for here is a goal that can never possibly be achieved.

A goal that can never be reached but can always be kept shimmering on the distant horizon is perfectly tooled for an endless policy of massive expenditure of money, arms, blood and manpower in one foreign adventure after another: what the great Charles A. Beard brilliantly termed "perpetual war for perpetual peace." Of course, egalitarians will be cheered by the fact that from this point on, American women will undoubtedly have the privilege of dying in combat along with their male colleagues. For the armed forces will soon be an employer offering equal opportunity death to all races and genders.

II. The Panama Invasion

The U.S. invasion of Panama was the first act of military intervention in the new post-Cold War world—the first act of war since 1945 where the United States has not used Communism or "Marxism-Leninism" as the effective all-purpose alibi. Coming so soon after the end of the Cold War, the invasion was confused and chaotic—a hallmark of Bushian policy in general. Bush's list of alleged reasons for the invasion were a grab-bag of haphazard and inconsistent arguments—none of which made much sense.

The positive vaunting was, of course, prominent: what was called, idiotically, the "restoration of democracy" in Panama. When in blazes did Panama ever have democracy? Certainly not under Noriega's beloved predecessor and mentor, the U.S.'s Panama Treaty partner, General Omar Torrijos. The alleged victory of the unappetizing Guillermo Endara in the abortive Panamanian election was totally unproven. The "democracy" the U.S. imposed was peculiar, to say the least: swearing in Endara and his "cabinet" in secrecy on a U.S. army base.

It was difficult for our rulers to lay on the Noriega "threat" very heavily. Since Noriega, whatever his other sins, is obviously no Marxist-Leninist, and since the Cold War is over anyway, it would have been tricky, even embarrassing, to try to paint Noriega and his tiny country as a grave threat to big, powerful United States. And so the Bush Administration laid on the "drug" menace with a trowel, braving the common knowledge that Noriega himself was a longtime CIA creature and employee whose drug trafficking was at the very least condoned by the U.S. for many years.

The Administration therefore kept stressing that Noriega was simply a "common criminal" who had been indicted in the U.S. (for actions outside the U.S.—so why not indict every other head of state as well—all of whom have undoubtedly committed crimes galore?) so that the invasion was simply a police action to apprehend an alleged fugitive. But what real police action—that is, police action over a territory over which the government has a virtual monopoly of force—involves total

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destruction of an entire working-class neighborhood, the murder of hundreds of Panamanian civilians as well as American soldiers, and the destruction of a half-billion dollars of civilian property?

The invasion also contained many bizarre elements of low comedy. There was the U.S. government's attempt to justify the invasion retroactively by displaying Noriega's plundered effects: porno in the desk drawer (well, gee, that sure justifies mass killing and destruction of property), the obligatory picture of Hitler in the closet (Aha! the Nazi threat again!), the fact that Noriega was stocking a lot of Soviet-made arms (a Commie as well as a Nazi, and "paranoid" too—the deluded fool was actually expecting an American invasion!), and that Noriega engaged in occult practices—even being so sinful and depraved as to wear red underwear! Well, that tears it! (conveniently overlooking Nancy Reagan's putting herself under astrological guidance and wearing a red dress—her best astrological color). Noriega's possession of a signed picture of the Pope was, of course, downplayed by the sickeningly obedient media. Is all the destruction of life and property worth the vengeance wreaked on Noriega for thumbing his nose at Bush—to say nothing of the many billions it will cost the U.S. taxpayer to build up the economy that we have destroyed?

III. The U.S. and the Sinatra Doctrine

In the meanwhile, the Soviet Union has been pursuing Gorbachev-Sinatra Doctrine. The Soviets have consistently refused to intervene to prop up the Communist tyrannies in Eastern Europe, if anything, giving the rulers a nudge to quit before the people saw to it that they were forcibly removed.

When confronted with an insistent demand of the Lithuanian and other Baltic nations, not only for non-Communism but even for independence, Gorby has so far refused to send in troops to prevent what would be a breaking away from the Soviet Empire itself—an empire that is essentially the old Czarist Russian Empire plus the Baltic states acquired by a deal with Hitler in 1939. Instead, Gorby has unsuccessfully attempted to persuade the Lithuanians to stay in the U.S.S.R. So far, Gorbachev's stance contrasts admirably with the policy of the sainted Abraham Lincoln, who used massive force and mass murder to force the seceding Southern states to remain in the Union.

Is all the destruction of life and property worth the vengeance wreaked on Noriega for thumbing his nose at Bush?

But how has the U.S. government reacted to Gorby's Sinatra Doctrine? At first, with surprised acclaim. But after a while, a curious note began to seep into American comment. Came the Romanian revolution, when Secretary of State Baker publicly as much as urged the Soviet Union to send troops into Romania to topple the monster Ceausescu and impose "democracy"—to which the Russians replied in some puzzlement that they couldn't do that, since they had just gotten through repudiating the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

How could they then turn around and repeat the performance? Furthermore, they had just finished denouncing the United States for its military aggression against Panama. The United States expressed befuddlement: why are the Russians sticking to this "narrow" principle of non-intervention? Once again, when the Lithuanian crisis arose, the U.S. let it be known that it would look with some sympathy on the U.S.S.R. sending troops into Lithuania—for after all, wouldn't this be an internal matter, and didn't Lincoln do the same?

And finally, when Gorby did send in troops to try to stop the fierce civil war between the Armenians and the Azeris in Azerbaijan, the Bush Administration and the assorted Establishment pundits practically whooped with glee, perhaps a bit relieved that the mighty Soviet state was prepared to send in troops somewhere, at some time. Maybe the Establishment was getting nervous, thinking that perhaps the Soviet Union

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had gone all the way to libertarianism—thereby embarrassing the bullying foreign policy of the U.S. of A. no end, and establishing a beacon-light for the world.

-M.N.R.

A *New* Right

The Reagan coalition, unlike the Goldwater movement, contained many diverse elements. Two of these were the traditionalist (or paleo) conservatives and the anti-traditionalist (or neo) conservatives. Barely speaking at the best of times, these two groups are now at war.

The Two Sides

The paleoconservatives are cultural traditionalists who reject the egalitarian movements that have wilded their way through America. They share the Founding Fathers' distrust of standing armies, look to the original American foreign policy of isolationism as a guide to the post-Cold War era, and see the welfare state as a moral and Constitutional monstrosity.

Opposed to the post-FDR imperial presidency, paleocons believe in a republican form of government as versus a mass democracy—which they see as leading to the welfare state—and they reject internationalist crusades to spread global democracy.

Patrick J. Buchanan, the most important conservative in the country, speaks for paleoconservatives (and libertarians) when he calls for "a new foreign policy that puts America first, and not only first, but second and third as well."

The neoconservatives, on the other hand, are cultural modernists who endorse the forced integration and redistributionism of civil rights. They believe in an imperial presidency, the welfare state, and mass democracy, and they seek to enact these ideas worldwide through U.S. military intervention. (So devoted are they to democracy that neocon theologian Michael Novak once compared the "birth of democracy in history" to the "birth in Bethlehem," a metaphor uncomfortably close to sacrilege for a Christian.)

The neocons can be summed up as "New Class" intellectuals seeking to "rationalize, legitimize, defend, and conserve the managerial regime" of the New Deal and the Great Society, says journalist Samuel T. Francis. From that regime they derive their social and political power, and in its service they have sought to coopt the Right.

A Short History of Neoconism

When the neocons joined the conservative movement in the late 1970s to fasten themselves to the Reagan campaign, conservatives were delighted. The neocons may have come from the Left, but they were staunch anti-communists and top intellectuals, or so their publications proclaimed.

Most conservatives didn't realize this was not the neocons' first conversion, however. Some neocons started out as Trotskyite communists, then became democratic socialists, then liberal Democrats, then conservative Republicans. Others remained social democrats. The neocon leaders made effective use, however, of the Marxist tactics they had learned in the internecine battles at City College of New York. Functioning as a disciplined cadre, they systematically put their followers in positions of power and punished anyone who stood in their way. "They operate exactly like a Communist cell," says a writer for *The Wall Street Journal*, itself heavily neocon influenced.

Here's a minor case study in how the neocons function: in 1988, neocon academic Allan Bloom invited budding neocon Francis Fukayama of the State Department to the neocon Olin Democracy Center at the University of Chicago. There he delivered a paper, which was published last year in the neocon journal *The National Interest* and trumpeted in *The New York Times* and its Sunday magazine as the most important article of 1989. Fukayama then received a lush book contract from a neocon-influenced publisher; his future is assured.

Fukayama, a right-wing Hegelian, claimed in his article, "The End of History?," that socialism has been eternally vanquished by the democratic welfare state. There will be no more ideological battles, only an "endless solving of technical problems, environmental concerns, and the satisfaction of sophisticated consumer demands."

All varieties of determinism repudiate the proper view of history as the sum of purposive human actions, but as with Hegel and Marx, there is a sinister purpose to Fukayama's inevitability theory.

We can think of Hegel, confirms philosopher David Gordon of the Ludwig von Mises Institute, as the first neocon. Hegel agreed to a role for the market and private property, but only if regulated by the state; he endorsed the sort of

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conservative welfare policies later enacted by Bismarck; he believed in war as necessary for the moral health of the people; and he endorsed a sovereign executive unfettered by the laws of morality.

Fukayama wants us to believe that a similar system is inevitable for all time, courtesy of History. But despite Fukayama and the neocons, the real issue is not socialism vs. the welfare state, but freedom vs. statism, an option they seek to obliterate for conservatives, and for America.

The First Battle

The first intra-Right battle in the Reagan administration took place over the directorship of the National Endowment for the Humanities. This bureaucracy dispenses many millions in academic patronage, and the neocons knew that not only do ideas have consequences, but that paid dispensers of ideas were essential to their planned control of conservative think tanks and foundations. NEA grants could buy them a lot of influence in the academic world, where the average professor—conservative, liberal, or libertarian—will sell his soul, such as it is, for a few thousand dollars.

Using *The New York Times*, which managing editor A.M. Rosenthal turned into a virtual neocon house organ, they attacked the president's first choice for the NEA, Southern historian and literature professor M. E. Bradford. Paleocon Bradford, a scholar of immense learning and gentle character, was called a Southern reactionary and Neanderthal. There was even a whispering campaign to brand him as a racist, though no evidence was ever produced.

An open charge, one the *Times* harped on, was that Bradford was insufficiently respectful of Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln—a proponent of big government, federal hegemony, the income tax, a dictatorial presidency, loose construction of the Constitution, and fiat-paper money—is a hero to neocons (even though his racial views resemble David Duke's). But why should uncritical approval of Lincoln have been a Reagan litmus test in the 1980s?

Another accusation was that Bradford opposed federal control of education. This was supposed to be Reagan's view, so it ought not to have been effective, no matter how shocking the *Times* found it.

Neocon William Bennett drastically expanded the central government's control over schools.

Day after day, Bradford was called a caveman. As is so often the case, the smear worked and Irving Kristol's choice, William Bennett, was installed in Bradford's place.

Bennett used the NEH effectively to reward neocons, and they in turn promoted him for Secretary of Education. When he got that job, he made effective use of its even larger slushfund and bank of jobs, while drastically expanding the central government's control over local schools. The neocons, who tend to think civilization starts and ends in New York City, see all local—and especially rural and small-town—influences as baleful prejudices to be stamped out. Thus their centralizing mania.

Along with the National Endowment for the Humanities, the neocons took over the grant-making National Endowments for the Arts and Democracy, not to speak of entire divisions of the National Security Council and the Defense and State Departments through neocons Richard Perle and Elliott Abrams.

A Neocon Decline?

Everything seemed to be going their way until the Iran-Contra affair—largely a neocon operation—was exposed and Abrams, a crown prince of neocondom as son-in-law to Norman Podhoretz and Midge Decter, was accused of giving false testimony to Congress.

During Iran-Contra, neocons were gradually forced out of the State, Defense, and the National Security Council, and even where they remained, they lost power. Contributing to this decline was the poor performance in the Republican primaries of their candidate, Jack Kemp, despite years of coaching by Kristol.

The neocons still wield a lot of power through Carl Gershman's National Endowment for Democracy, Jack Kemp's HUD, Bennett's Drug War, and Dan Quayle's office under Kristol's son, Bill, but the White House—now controlled

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by an older Northeastern elite—is much less friendly.

Anti-Semitism and the Neocons

Although there are Jews on both sides of the conservative battle, most neocons are Jewish. That ought not to make any difference. But given the neocons' willingness to use any weapon in their battles, perhaps it was inevitable that anti-Semitism would be ascribed to their opponents.

Anti-Semitism is a ghastly philosophy, and a charge of anti-Semitism can therefore do great harm. As it ought to, when true. But when untrue, it must be accounted the most vicious smear in American politics.

Paleoconservative godfather Russell Kirk said—in one line of a long talk at the Heritage Foundation—that some neocons "mistake Tel Aviv for the capital of the United States." Decter, a Heritage trustee, called the remark a "bloody piece of anti- Semitism." But that is nonsense.

The neocons do see a unique role for Israel, both as foreign-aid recipient and as a hinge of U.S. foreign policy. In the 1970s, some became conservatives specifically, they said, to protect Israel from the "post-Vietnam neo-isolationism" of the Left. The neocons have the right to disagree with Kirk; they do not have the right to smear a scholar and man of his rectitude.

Neocons even persecuted Paul Gottfried, a Jewish paleocon, for supporting Kirk and saying that Christian anti-Semitism *and* "Jewish anti-Christian prejudice" are evil, and that too many neocons are guilty of the latter. Gottfried, a nationally known political philosopher, was as a result denied a teaching post at a Catholic university.

Neocons organized to pressure the university into withdrawing its job offer. Gottfried was, they said, a "self- hating Jew" not dedicated to "the security of Israel." Podhoretz reproached him as "more Christian than Jewish." That struck many as an odd argument to make to a Catholic university. Even odder, it seems to have worked.

The Rockford Battle

At the center of the paleo-neo battle have been the paleoconservative Rockford Institute in Rockford, Illinois, and its influential magazine, *Chronicles*. Editor Thomas Fleming had published an article by libertarian Bill Kaufman on Gore Vidal as a man of the Old Right. Despite Vidal's many ideological and cultural shortcomings, it was a persuasive piece. But no one could have seen it as a literary thermonuclear device.

Like many paleocons, Fleming comes from the Southern agrarian tradition that values America's heartland farms and towns over its big northeastern cities. For these views, he has been smeared by the neocons as a "nativist." But after the Vidal article, Podhoretz and Decter declared Fleming, *Chronicles*, and Rockford "enemies" who countenanced anti-Semitism.

How so? Jews tend to live in big cities, so criticizing urban culture smacks of anti-Semitism. And besides, Vidal was their bitter personal enemy who had called them "Israeli Fifth Columnists."

In answering these charges, Rockford pointed to *Chronicle*'s Jewish editors and writers, and to the fact that nothing even remotely anti-Semitic had ever appeared in the magazine. But the neocons only redoubled their efforts, next using their disciple Richard John Neuhaus, a Lutheran minister who ran Rockford's Center for Religion and Society in New York City.

Neuhaus and Fleming had been at odds for a long time. After hearing Fleming make an "insensitive remark" about AIDS, Neuhaus said "How can you say that, when we all have so many close friends who have been struck down by this terrible disease?"

"Close friends?" answered Fleming. "I don't know anyone who has AIDS. I don't know anyone *who knows anyone* who has AIDS." Neuhaus would never speak to Fleming again.

When Podhoretz and Decter declared war, Neuhaus gladly volunteered for "the neocons' smear campaign," a Rockford official told me. Neuhaus "badmouthed Rockford to our donors while spending our money hand over fist." An attack on Rockford from Rockford's offices by a Rockford employee using Rockford money left the Institute no alternative but to fire Neuhaus and quickly, although the action was noisily criticized by the neocons and their allies as "ill-mannered."

The New York Times then ran a front-page story on the affair, bringing the paleo-neo fight into the open. Other national coverage followed.

Even spurious charges of bigotry are hard to refute. But in this case they didn't work, and Rockford has emerged as an even more influential advocate of traditional culture; *Chronicles* has continued to gain in circulation and prestige.

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A Neocon Error

Not since Iran-Contra had the neocons made a serious mistake. But Kirk, as Mr. Conservative, is widely beloved, and so is Rockford. The attacks backfired, and for the first time, the neocons themselves became the issue.

This is something they like to avoid, for despite all the resources they control, there are not very many of them. As a *Wall Street Journal* writer told me: "No one has ever found more than 37."

The neocons use "a certain amount of smoke and mirrors," added a paleo journalist. "But this split is blowing away the smoke and breaking their mirrors." The neocon edifice seems impressive, but "pull back the curtain on this Wizard of Oz, and it's only Irving Kristol standing on a stool."

In an attempt to counter their small numbers, the neocons have started reaching out to an older Establishment, and aligning themselves with such Trilateralist intellectuals as Samuel Huntington of Harvard, who has received millions in Neocon money.

In an early Trilateral Commission study, Huntington looked back with nostalgia on the good old days when "Truman had been able to govern the country with the cooperation of a small number of Wall Street lawyers and bankers." But too many people questioned the "legitimacy of hierarchy, coercion, discipline, secrecy, and deception"; they "no longer felt the compulsion to obey" those of "superior rank."

The solution? 1) Muzzling the press, especially newsmen skeptical of "authority and institutions"; 2) tightening federal control of higher education, which too often works "at cross purposes" with elite authority; and 3) restoring the presidency to dominion over "foreign policy and international economics." These are neoconservative goals as well.

In Irving Kristol's *National Interest*, neocon columnist Charles Krauthammer has openly endorsed the Trilateralist foreign policy: America must "integrate" with Europe and Japan in a "super-sovereign" entity that is "economically, culturally, and politically hegemonic in the world."

Hive off the hippies, druggies, and militant anti-Christians of the Libertarian Party.

A Reconciliation

Just as the paleo-neo split widens, an older break is healing, much to the neocons' alarm. For if there is anything they dislike more than paleoconservatives, it is libertarians.

The Old Right, born in opposition to the New Deal and World War II (the neocons' two favorite historical events), encompassed people of very different ideologies, although all were cultural conservatives. From monarchists to anarcho-capitalists, they worked together against the policies of Roosevelt and Truman.

The coalition broke down during the Cold War, but with the breakdown of communism itself, the Old Right is back: paleocons are joining with libertarians against the common enemy: what Sobran calls "that 800-pound gorilla in Washington, D.C." Not just any libertarians, however, but the culturally conservative "paleolibertarians."

It is not a difficult melding. Paleolibertarians agree with paleoconservatives, and disagree with neoconservatives, on most ideological issues.

But to rescue the libertarian ideal, and make such an alliance possible, good libertarians had first to hive off what Murray N. Rothbard called "the hippies, druggies, and militantly anti-Christian atheists" of the Libertarian Party.

Inspired by Rothbard—founder of the modern libertarian movement—a fast-growing group of paleolibertarian scholars, clergy, businessmen, and journalists has broken with the libertines. Rothbard and Fleming then organized the first meeting of the paleo alliance late last year at the Rockford Institute. Other sponsors were the Ludwig von Mises Institute and the Center for Libertarian Studies.

Called "Beyond the Welfare-Warfare State: Setting the Agenda for the 1990s," the conference brought together a host of paleos from both camps, including Bradford, Gottfried, Fleming, Rothbard, Sobran, and the present writer.

A second meeting took place in 1990 to establish a new scholarly society. Designed to promote a convergence among paleo- libertarians and paleo-conservatives, and discussion of the ideas of liberty and Western civilization, it was named after John Randolph

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of Roanoke. Randolph, whom Russell Kirk in his great book called a "libertarian aristocrat," said: "I love liberty; I hate equality."

The Randolph Club will have about 100 members—scholars, journalists, and businessmen—by invitation only. The presidency will alternate between a conservative and a libertarian, and its first meeting—in Dallas next October—will produce a paleo- alliance book.

The officers are Fleming, president; Rothbard, vice president (and next year's president); Burton S. Blumert of CLS, treasurer; and Michael Warder of Rockford, secretary. The other two board members are Allan Carlson of Rockford and myself.

Another gathering took place this month at the Philadelphia Society's annual meeting in Chicago, with a standing-room-only dialogue on the future of the Right featuring Rothbard, Anthony Harrigan, and Donald Devine, sponsored by the Rockford Institute.

At a time when neocons—like all statists—are intellectually bankrupt, conservatives are preoccupied with getting jobs in the state apparatus, and libertarians are still zoning in the Age of Aquarius, the paleo alliance is the only exciting development on the Right. I expect to see the people associated with the John Randolph Club set the agenda for the 1990s and beyond. (An earlier, shorter version of this article appeared in *The New American*.)

- L.H.R., Jr.

Arts and Movies

Driving Miss Daisy, directed by Bruce Beresford, with Jessica Tandy, Morgan Freeman, and Dan Aykroyd.

Driving Miss Daisy presents a loving and favorable view of race relations in the Old South.

Driving Miss Daisy is a wonderful picture, and it should have won all the Academy Awards. A gentle, richly-detailed tapestry of a movie, it lovingly, warmly, and perceptively evokes life in the Old South from the late 1940s until the early 1970s. Here are race relations as they were, can be, and should be.

Bruce Beresford is the superb Australian director who brought us Breaker Morant, and he orchestrates truly stunning acting performances, especially from the three principals: Messrs. Freeman and Aykroyd and Miss Tandy. The film is based on the semi-autobiographical play by Alfred Uhry; a wealthy Jewish widow in Atlanta, becoming too old to drive herself, employs a Negro driver, only ten years younger than herself. Morgan Freeman, the driver, is benign, courteous, deferential and dignified, and the originally imperious Tandy eventually comes to regard Hoke, the driver, as her best friend.

As many of the reviews pointed out, neither Aykroyd nor Tandy looks Jewish, Tandy being far closer to a prototypical WASP-Grant Wood type. To hear Yiddish spoken by Miss Tandy comes as a bit of a culture shock. But the acting is so superior that this really makes no difference. There are some wonderfully tart bits, as Miss Tandy denounces her daughter-in-law: "with her nose, she shouldn't have all those reindeers and Santa Clauses on her lawn." (Oddly enough, the daughter-in-law, Patti Lupone, is the only one of the major actors who looks Jewish, even though she isn't.)

Although the major film critics grudgingly admire *Driving Miss Daisy*, they obviously don't like it very much—precisely because it presents a loving and favorable view of race relations in the Old South. In fact, they mainly protested because their own favorite film of 1989—the raucous black power-oriented *Do the Right Thing* from Spike Lee—was frozen out of Academy Award contention. Well, tough, guys.

All this illustrates an important cultural point: that while Academy Award tastes too often welcome the sentimental and the pretentious, they are leagues ahead of the professional critics, who generally go for the morally and esthetically corrupt visions and pronouncements of the avant-garde. All the more reason to cherish a gem like *Driving Miss Daisy*.

- Mr. First Nighter

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